C 101 the women's language. However, to make some distinction between themselves and the people of the mainland, they call the latter balouɗouri, from the word balloud, which means mainland; thus a callinago of the mainland is distinguished in the same way as one would classify a Frenchman as a Parisian or a Langrois. We call those people of the mainland who are friends of our savages Gallybis [Galibis] —and call our savages Carafbes [Caribs].

C 173 If you ask the latter why they separated from the mainlanders and moved to the islands, they can give no reason. However, they all say that their first father, Callinago, left the mainland with his family and settled in Dominica. There he had a long line of descendants, and the nephews of his nephews, with extreme cruelty, C [275] poisoned him. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size, which they call Akaiouman and which is still very much alive in their river. At least this fable shows that they are descended from the people of the mainland. C P 174

Several of the French believe that there were earlier inhabitants of these islands whom the Caribs chased away. This belief is founded upon the fact (and it is even certain according to the savages) that in some of the islands there are still survivors of these people, who retreated to the mountains and who are white like the French and wear long beards. Monsieur d'Esnambuc, governor of Saint Christopher, assured Father Raymond [Breton] that there were some on Saint Christopher. The Caribs affirm [47] that there are some at Guadeloupe and that they dwell above the large river at Goyave and at Grande-Terre. It is certain that there are some at Dominica because they are often seen there. The first time Father Raymond was C ● [127 56] at Dominica in 1642, the Caribs had captured a man, a woman, and a girl of these people by surprise. They killed and ate the man, and enslaved the woman and girl. Last year, on the same day Father Raymond arrived, the mountaineers had made a raid, burned a cabin, and carried off a few household goods.

C 173 P 174 Our Caribs, however, say in one of their trusted traditions that they killed the Allouagues, (first) inhabitants of the islands, (1)

1. Roman version: "Our Caribs... say... that they are the first inhabitants of the islands and that the people in the mountains... etc."

T26 [Puerto Rico?], which, however, never belonged to our Caribs. One
648 of the natives of Dominica told Father Raymond of a raid in which they captured a large number of Negroes and butchered one of our Fathers and smoked him to eat, but he had aroused in them such a
[266] reluctance that they never dared eat him. The narrator affirmed that he was one of those present at that occasion. For some time now they have abstained from eating the flesh of Christians.

411 Their weapons are the boutou and the bow and arrow. The boutou is a sort of flat club, square at the end, 2 inches thick and 2 1/2 or 3 feet long, made of green wood, brazilwood, letter(?) wood, or some other very heavy and massive wood. They cut a design on
[531] the end with their knife and fill it with wet mouchache, which is fine manioc flour, for a rather pretty effect. Whoever is hit full force with this club is crushed. Their bows are made of brazilwood, which is rather stiff. Their cords are made of pita. Their arrows are made of certain smooth stalks that grow at the tops of reeds and which are tufted. These stalks are very light; and at the end of them they put a shaft of green wood or other very hard wood, and make notches on it as on a saw, only bigger so that the arrow cannot be withdrawn without tearing the flesh around it and enlarging the wound. They also use the spiny tail of the ray for arrow tips. They rarely use iron. They poison the arrow with a venom so malignant that without a prompt remedy one dies of the smallest wound. They feather their arrows with parrot feathers or with others. To start fires they shoot arrows wrapped in flaming cotton.

● T27 After the combat, they pillage thoroughly. If there are any dead
266 enemies they eat the arms and feet, and smoke the rest for their return home. If they have taken any prisoners, they keep the males to be killed and the females to [71] enslave. Each piece of plunder belongs to the one who takes it. When they want to kill an Allouague, the one who captured him holds a drinking party and invites his friends. They tie the unhappy captive in a bed and starve him for a long time. When everyone is assembled his master leads the captive in and delivers the first light blow with his boutou and the others then follow suit. After beating him to death, they cut him into pieces and eat part of him at the time. Each one carries a piece home which he eats with his family in great solemnity.

627 When one Carib kills another, they have no other justice but what vengeance the parents of the killed man take, if the guilty one does not pacify them with presents.

CHAPTER XII

Their Diseases, Death, Mourning, Burial, and Fancies Concerning The Soul

164 Nearly all the Caribs have that disease called the sickness of
757 Naples, or as others say, yaws, which is scarcely any better. The disease is fairly common among the Negroes, and some of the French also suffer from it. It is not, however, at least not always, the responsibility of Venus, since even small children have it. To cure themselves, they do not try sweating at all, but grate shellfish, which they swallow with water. They rub themselves with genipa, or with reed leaves burned with liana, which they call mouchao or miby. They do not get well as soon as patients who are made to sweat.

165 One sees very few other diseases among them, and it is a marvel that living such a mean life they are so healthy and fat and live so long. For it is certain that they usually live very long. It was only four or five months ago that the father of The Baron died, and his wife, The Baron's mother, still lives. The Baron, whose wife is still living, has a daughter; this daughter has a daughter and this latter already has children. So The Baron is a great-grandfather and his mother is a great-great grandmother [759] and The Baron's daughter, who is a grandmother herself, still has her own grandmother. And this is not the only example to be cited. Their long life must be attributed to their lack of cares.

751 They blame their demon for their diseases and if the illness is long and severe they call the bofayko to consult him about it. They
758 have a number of remedies which the women apply to the sick, but they treat the sick no more delicately than they do the healthy.

Relatives rarely or never visit their sick kin. Generally married
[754] people do not visit the sick, because, they say, their bodies emit a force which afflicts the sick even more. That is why when one of The Baron's sons was ill, neither his brother, his sisters, nor his father went to see him; only his mother treated him and she did not communicate at all with his father.

727 When some among them are killed in war, they do what they can to recover the bodies and bury them. Following is how they bury their dead.

4. Warfare

126 The Caribs never go to war openly against their enemies, but only attack them by surprise. Nevertheless, they make great preparations, assembling many pirogues and canoes. They only take one woman into each boat to comb their hair and paint them, as well as to prepare their food. Finally they arrive at the place agreed upon. If they are discovered they utter cries which terrify everyone, and they kill all whom they chance to meet. They let loose a flight of arrows to which burning cotton is fastened and set fire to everything. 127 Three hours later they retire until they plan some new enterprise. They kill their prisoners with blows of clubs. If some of the prisoners are women they take them home and give them to the old men as wives and slaves. If they capture male children they regard them as slaves, but if the males are older they force them to fast, because the Caribs do not like to eat fat, and then they kill them. [375]

121 [63] The Caribs during their drinking parties, which sometimes last two or three days, make speeches to each other about the great exploits of their ancestors. This is to arouse their spirits and make them fight more bravely against their enemies. The women and the young [71] people do not understand this language. Only in the speeches which they make during the work parties, do they use a style which although very elaborate, is nevertheless intelligible to all. [376] All their harangues, which they make so frequently, are only war speeches to 266 excite themselves against their enemies. Even the human flesh they eat at this time is for this same purpose, because they eat it in such small quantities. However, I think that when they have it in large quantities they eat all they can, because I heard it said here that when they killed three of our missionaries at Puerto Rico they smoked them. But during the meal they became so greatly disgusted that they dared not look at them. [222]

When they are going to eat an Arawak there is singing, dancing, and rejoicing. At the beginning of my stay in Dominica, my host, Captain Baron, had killed and brought back an Arawak from South America. He had a great drinking party and invited anyone who wished to come. He gave each woman a part of the Arawak to cook in her own pot so that she could eat it with her husband and family who were in the assembly. This they did with great enjoyment during the day. After having drunk and been entertained in their

726 hideous they paint themselves around their eyes with black from the junipa /Genipa?/ apple. /When fighting the French/ they move continuously to avoid the effect of firearms, and if they see the lighted match of one of our muskets they easily avoid the discharge. They throw themselves on the ground or run here and there, moving at an incredible speed so that it is very difficult to pick a target among them. They very much fear guns; when they do not see the fire set, they say that it is the maboya, that is to say the devil, who puts in the fire.

They ordinarily fight in three groups, an advance guard, a rear guard, and the main body. When they are halted they are immediately thrown into disorder and confusion. We have a fairly easy time of it if at the beginning we show them that we have no fear, and if we are fortunate enough to knock down one, two, or three of them, for in this case they promptly retreat. They do not retreat, however, ● [727] without making every possible effort to retrieve the bodies of their dead companions, because they greatly fear and hold it to be a terrible dishonor to leave them among their enemies. But if we flee (or retreat in order to fight them with this strategem) or show any fear, or fire many shots without effect, then they become extremely courageous and fight furiously and do not retreat unless, they are put to the last extremity. There are already some few among them who have firearms and know how to shoot with them, and this is a very great evil. God forgive those who have given them to the Caribs!

Their defensive weapons, as I have said, are flight, lightness, and perpetual movement. They lie in their canoes in order to be sheltered from shots, for they have neither shield, nor any other thing to protect them, and are as naked in battle as they are on all other occasions.

[Illegible] Besides canoes which are made of a single piece of wood, and are not made of bark like those of the Canadian Indians, they have pirogues fashioned from two or three pieces of wood. They are much larger than canoes and carry forty to fifty men, and they put sails on them, in imitation of us, when they can get them.

727 They kill and eat their captives with a thousand ceremonies and cruelties, however not so extreme as those of the Canadians. They sometimes preserve a hand of the dead enemy which they carry in triumph and dance all about with it. They never forget nor pardon any injury which has been done them, or which they think has been done them.

726 die in combat, they would never go to war.

If they happen upon some of their enemies going down to the sea to fish in their canoes, they let them pass. When the enemies are unable to escape, they rush them yelling and bellowing like enraged bulls. The enemies are seized, tied, and bound so thoroughly that they cannot escape. With this inglorious conquest they return filled with more pride than if they had achieved great feats and won the most glorious victory in the world.

If this [kind of] opportunity does not occur, [then] they learn from their spies where the most isolated carbets are located, because these are easier to surprise and are the weakest. These are the ones they attack. When they have decided to attack a carbet they usually wait, I do not know why, for a full moon. Just before dawn they surround the carbet. Although the carbet does not contain more than 50 to 60 men to defend it, and although they are not less than 1,000 to 1,500 attackers, they do all they can to surprise them in their beds, which fairly often happens. But if they are noticed and if the others make a vigorous defense, they besiege the place. They let loose so many arrows that the gardens around are filled and strewn with arrows.

If their enemies resist overly much they try to burn them in their carbet. For this purpose they attach some carded cotton as big as a fist to an arrow, set fire to it, and shoot it at the roof of the carbet. This roof is made of reeds, latan [palm], palmetto or leaves which are combustible and burn easily. If this arrow does not have the desired effect they shoot so many that eventually the carbet catches fire. The defenders allow themselves to burn rather than fall to the mercy of the cannibals.

If they defend themselves courageously until dawn, then when the sun rises the courage of the Caribs weakens, and the siege never lasts beyond midday. Should they lose men in the fighting, they would
● [727] never leave their dead and wounded at the disposal of their enemies, even if most of them should die trying to retrieve them.

If they have to fight in battle ranks (which rarely happens, and this always against their intentions), they divide themselves into three bands, without, however, observing rank and file or any other formation of a battalion. Before shooting the first arrow they make terrible, frightening yells in order to strike terror into the hearts of

726 their enemies. They renew these cries from time to time during the fighting. If the enemy gives ground their confidence swells and they are lions in courage, but if one resists courageously they lose heart and take to their heels, selling their lives cheaply.

727 Having won a victory they pillage everything in the houses, each man seizing whatever booty he can, which then belongs to him alone. They never seize the enemy's territory. Their wars have no other purpose than to exterminate their enemies in revenge for the wrongs they believe they have received. They take both men and women prisoners and assign the men to death without mercy and the women to slavery. The slave women quite often marry the victors but they are not allowed to wear the big and small leggings worn by the other Carib women. They are obliged to wear their hair short as a mark of servitude.

727 When there are enemy dead on the ground they are barbecued,
266 that is to say roasted until they are dry, and then eaten immediately. The male captives are brought home in triumph. They are starved and a general assembly is held, the captives being displayed tied up tightly. Now they give them a thousand insults and make a thousand boasts pretending that at any time they will smash their heads with clubs. The miserable and unfortunate victims ordinarily endure all of this with a calm and unmoved face, without showing surprise in any way. The prisoners even defy their captors by boasting loudly that they have eaten the fathers of the conquerors, and tell them that they /the conquerors/ will be eating their own fathers when they eat the prisoners. They add that their own relatives and friends will know how to revenge their death.

Finally the oldest gives one of the prisoners a club blow and the others are likewise killed. Now they cease the thousand cruelties which they had been carrying out. But this does not please their wives who wish the captives to endure all conceivable torments.

266 After the prisoners are killed the captors dismember them, cutting up the meat with knives and the bones with billhooks. They throw the limbs on a large barbecue over a blazing fire. The barbecue had been pointed out to the victims in order to frighten them half to death with this terrifying spectacle before they were clubbed. After this good meat is cooked the bravest roast the heart and eat it. The

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

726 attack, but usually they returned home, carrying the corpses to be buried there. If the enemy were defeated, they pillaged the village and roasted
● 727 and ate the enemy corpses on the spot, keeping only some of the bones as trophies. They bound all prisoners and carried them back to the home village.

Each warrior kept his female captives and her children as slaves, incorporating them in his family. The male captives were tortured, killed, and eaten at the feast celebrating each victory. For 5 days beforehand each prisoner was kept without food in the house of his captor, bound onto one of his hammocks. Then he was brought into the carbet, where the villagers had assembled. They thrust burning brands into his sides, cut his flesh and rubbed in pepper, and shot his body full of arrows, trying (usually without success) to make him cringe. Then one of the old men of the village dispatched him with a club. The *Carib* cut up his body, washed the flesh, and roasted it, catching the fat in gourd containers. This fat was kept by the chiefs, who used it to season the food during later feasts. Some of the flesh also was kept until later, but most was eaten then with many signs of enjoyment. The most courageous warriors received the heart, the women the arms and legs, and the other men the rest of the body.

At this time the chief recounted the exploits of the warriors, and they took the names of the enemies they had killed. A sponsor was chosen to present the new name, and he received gifts of ornaments in return. At this time, too, the fathers gave their daughters to the successful warriors to be their brides.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The sculpture of the *Carib* was not so well developed as that of the *Arawak*, but they did fashion images of their maboya (evil spirits) from stone and wood for use as amulets and as adornments to the sterns of pirogues. They also carved small dolls of wood for the children and engraved biomorphic and geometric designs on clubs and gourds. There are petroglyphs in *Carib* territory, but they were probably made by the *Arawak*. Painting was done on canoes, hammocks, and gourds; as in the case of engraving, the designs were either biomorphic or geometric.

526 **Games.**—The *Carib* were fond of wrestling and of boat races. When wrestling, the two contestants held each other by the upper arms while each attempted to throw his opponent to the ground.

527 **Feasts, dances, and music.**—Carib feasts were held frequently: To decide upon warfare; to celebrate victories, the birth of the first male child, or cutting the children's hair; to initiate a new warrior; to observe clearing of new fields, cutting down trees to make a new house, launching a new vessel, or recovery from a disease. They were organized by one

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

to his wife. He would be expected to beat a lazy or unfaithful wife; though when he comes home helplessly drunk, the roles are sometimes reversed. He may also chastize or even expel from the household older children who repeatedly misbehave themselves. Up to the age of about five, children are treated with extreme indulgence interspersed with sporadic displays of affection, temper, or indifference; and rarely learn to control their bodily functions until three or four. Later training is almost solely confined to ridicule or chastisement; and Carib parents rarely if ever question their adolescent children, or seek to direct or control their doings. Observation, not interrogation, is the rule; and even in adults, silence is the only answer to an unwelcome question. A young girl found to be pregnant might receive a beating from her mother, especially should she not have revealed her lover's identity; but pre-marital sex experience is, on the whole, taken for granted by the present generation of Caribs. Adultery on the part of a husband is not uncommon, and is regarded with indulgence provided that the wife and children do not suffer neglect thereby. Adultery committed by the wife is rarer, and much more severely judged, though it is unlikely to lead to a permanent separation. The guilty wife may be beaten, and some sort of reparation demanded from her accomplice, who acquires a sort of right as the husband's comborse (see term 20), however, to future privileges. The above remarks apply to any socially recognized, fairly permanent unions, legal or otherwise. The recent suicide of a man who had discovered his (extra-legal) wife's infidelity is said by his friends to have been due to shame at the girl's refusal to return and submit to being beaten.

That wives might be acquired in different ways, we learn from all sources. A woman's daughters and her brothers' sons had a sort of prior claim on one another, and often were promised by their parents almost as soon as born. Such engagements were not enforced, however, if they later proved distasteful to the young couple concerned or to their parents. Secondly, men might take wives of their own choice (except among those they called mother, sister or daughter), provided that the girl and her parents consented. Thirdly, a noted chief or war-chief might have to take to wife a girl presented to him, for fear of offending her parents. Finally, girls captured in war or otherwise seduced or taken without their parents' consent were called by a distinctive term (19). The former were often brought home as presents for the old men. Although the status of this fourth class was apparently somewhat inferior to that of the other wives, that of their children in no way differed from the rest. Obviously, such unions were patrilocal. Du Tertre[3] and Breton both cite cases of unions

3 J.-B. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles* (Paris, 1667-1671).